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A
SERMON

Preach'd before the Honourable
House of COMMONS,
At St. Margaret's Westminster,
On Wednesday, January XXX, 1708.

Being the Anniversary Day of *Fasting* and *Humiliation*, for the Horrid and Execrable MURDER of King CHARLES the First.

GEN. XLII. 21.

And they said one to another, We are verily Guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw the Anguish of his Soul, when he besought us; and we would not hear: Therefore is this Distress come upon us.

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L O N D O N:

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GEN. XLII. 21.

And they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw the anguish of his Soul, when he besought us; and we would not hear: Therefore is this Distress come upon us.

I Am not going to force a Parallel between this Instance of the Text, and the mournful Occasion of this Day. Much generally suffers by the Affectation of Comparisons, and Invention itself often suffers with it. The Sinners in the Text were but the part of a private Family, a few Brethren; they did not assume the Name of a People, nor stain a Nation with their Crime. The Person whom they sinn'd against was but a Fellow-Brother, *Joseph*, their younger Brother: They would have abhorr'd such dealing with *Jacob* their Father, Head and Governor. Their Guilt was not the putting him to death, but barely an exposing him to the danger of it; There was indeed a Thought in their Heart to slay him, but the very Thought was barbarous, and they started from it; said one, [*Gen. 37. 21.*] *Let us not kill him; shed no blood, but cast him into this pit, and lay no hand upon him.* They stript him indeed of his Coat, for Envy at that Distinction of their Father's Love; but they would not bereave him of his Life: They cast him into a Pit empty and dry, as fitted for a safe custody of him: Nor would they here suffer him to perish with Famine; they were consulting how to save him and deliver him; said *Judah* to his Brethren, [*Ver. 26, 27.*] *What profit is there if we slay our Brother, and conceal his Blood? Come and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him, for he is our Brother and our Flesh.* So as they did by no means triumph in his Murder, or insult his mangled Body: they only left him to a Chance of Destruction, nor did that happen to him. Yet their running this length toward the Ruin of their innocent Brother, was a grievous Trouble to them: They could not justify the Sin, much less glory in the Shame of it. One of them returned to the Pit, as if his Bowels yearned over the Prisoner, whom he supposed to be in it: When he saw no Brother there, [*Ver. 29.*] *He rent his Cloaths;* and to avoid all Suspicion of their treading any steps in Blood, they led their Father into a belief, [*Ver. 33.*] that *an evil Beast had devoured Joseph, and that without doubt he was rent to piece.* So far was the Guilt in the Text from any Similitude, from almost any Allusion, to the Blood-guiltiness of this Day, [*Stat. 12 Car. 2. Cap. 30. & 1.*] *That horrid and execrable Murder of King Charles the First, of ever Blessed and Glorious Memory, committed by a Party of wretched Men, desperately wicked, and hardened in their Impiety:* I speak in the words of the Wisdom of the Nation; and shall borrow one other suitable Expression from the Solemn Act, which appoints this Anniversary Day of Fasting and Humiliation; namely, *That this impious Fact was a most unparall'd Treason, i. e. beyond the Examples of all former Ages:* For indeed if we trace back the steps of Time thro' all Histories,

stories, Sacred and Prophane, we meet with no Precedent, that comes up, that comes near to this *New Thing* under the Sun.

Saul fell by the Spear, yet no Subject's Hand was in it ; a Stranger, an Enemy, an *Amalekite* kill'd him ; nay, rather assisted him in Dying, and obey'd his very Command of administering a more easy Death unto him ; yet no Apology to be made for shedding Royal Blood. No, tho' He brought the Crown and Bracelet to the next Successor by God appointed, his Reception was with terrible Rebuke and Vengeance, as in the Lesson of this Day : [*2 Sam. 1. 14.*] *How ! wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine Hand to destroy the Lord's Anointed ? thy Blood be upon thy Head.* — Go near, and fall upon him ; — and he smote him that he died. In following Reigns, the most wicked Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* were suffered to sleep with their Fathers, and to die in Peace, unless they descended into Battel and perished, or were smitten by some private Conspirators against them ; No Remnant of a *Sanhedrin*, no Diets of an Army, to conspire and slay their Master. *Zedekiah* King of *Judah* was barbarously treated, his Sons were slain before his Eyes ; his Eyes were then put out ; he was bound in Chains, carried away Captive, and in a Prison was oppress'd to Death ; but not a Finger of his own People in it : He took the Chance of War, and expected no greater Mercy from a Foreign Conqueror : His own Subjects bewail'd him, tho' not a Prince of Virtue or Courage ; [*Lam. 4. 20.*] *The Breath of our Nostrials, tho' Anointed of the Lord was taken in their Pits, of whom we said, Under his Shadow we shall live among the Heathen.* We have a nearer Instance in *Antigonus*, King of *Judea*, who was a Prisoner, and was beheaded : But this too by a Victorious Enemy and bloody Tyrant, *Marc Anthony*, who had some Thought of exposing him in Chains for the Glory of his Triumphs ; but seeing the *Jews* mutinous, he struck off their King's Head, as an Expedient to keep the Peace among them. And yet an Heathen Historian [*Strabo*] cited by *Josephus*, complains of thus insulting a Crowned Head, confesses it a *New Thing*, and labours to frame Excuses for it ; that the *Romans* being now Lords and Masters of *Judea*, had made *Herod* their Deputy Royal, whom the *Jews* would not acknowledge, while *Antigonus* was living : And therefore *Herod* [*Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 15. Cap. 1.*] propounded this shameful Punishment to blast the Memory of their rightful Princes, and to reconcile the People to himself, and to his Title by *Roman* Conquest.

I all other Kingdoms, Heathen and Christian, I remember no pompous Execution of a Sovereign Prince, at least till we come down to the Thirteenth Century ; by which time, *Papery* had well-nigh defac'd the Image of God, and prevail'd over Humane Nature : Then *Couradine* King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, was depriv'd of his Right by Four Successive Popes ; and at last by *Clement* the Fourth, was formally excommunicated and depos'd, and his Dominions were violently transferr'd upon the Prince of *Anjou*, nearly related to the *French* King, who assisted him in his Usurpation ; till *Conradine* being unfortunately defeated in Battle, was led Captive to his own Imperial City of *Naples*, and under the Awe and Terrour of that Bloody Conquerour ; his own People were made to condemn him in a mock Court

of Justice, and an *ugly Sentence* was extorted from them, [*Spondani Ann. Eccles. sub Ann. 1269. § 7, 8.*] That he should have his Head cut off; and he was accordingly brought to an open Scaffold, where he submitted to the fatal Blow. A Pomp and Pageantry of Royal Murder, that gave a seeming Example to the more detestable Crime of this Day: *More detestable!* for the Circumstances are widely different; *Conradine* was a King depos'd by the See of Rome; [*Naucleri Chron. Gen. 43. p. 839. Tho. Bzoviz Annal. Eccles. 1268 §. 2. 11. &c.*] and his *Catholic* Subjects might be taught to disown him, and even to kill him: Yet after all, it was not their own audacious Act, they were terrified into it by the imperious sway of his foreign Rival and Conquerour: So that whatever were the Mockeries of Law and Justice, he fell rather a Sacrifice in *War*. And yet observe the Abomination of such palliated Wickedness! his very Enemies could not contain their utmost Abhorrence of this Action: When the kind of *President* had made an end of reading the Sentence of Death upon his *King*, a Noble *Earl* was so transported with Indignation, at so base an Instrument of Villany, that he drew his Sword, and with a strong Passion sheath'd it in the Heart of that Mercenary Judge: Nay, and as soon as the bold *Executioner* had given the Blow, that he might never more lift up the Hand that had taken off a Royal Head, another Fellow-Hangman stood ready, by appointment, and immediately kill'd the Wretch, not fit to live or die.

If we come Home to our own Kingdom, amidst all the Convulsions of it, we find nothing to be equall'd, to be mention'd, with this *Day of Trouble, Rebuke and Blasphemy*. There has been a Weakness, and a Tyranny of Princes; there have been Murmurs, and a very Madness of the People. Tumultuous Times! Insurrections, Civil Wars, and dreadful Battles! Plots, Assassination, Poisons, and the Graves of Princes made in Prisons! But no Court of Law, no Palace Gate, no Scaffold, Axe, and Noon Day Sun: These were the Accomplishments of Wickedness, that were reserved to blaken this Day.

I know that two Aspersions have been falsely cast upon the People of *England*, as if they had done as Bad things, both before and after this Day. *Before*, says the *Papists*, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when a Crowned Head was formally adjudg'd to die, and suffer'd death in a like publick manner. But all Men know, she was not our Sovereign Prince, but a dangerous Pretender to our Crown, and a continual Fomenter of Plots and Conspiracies against our Rightful Queen, and the Establish'd Church and State: † So that were it any Plea, that she was not Subject to our *English Laws*, yet she was Guilty by the Law of Nations, and our Government had been wanting to its own Self-preservation,* if it had not appointed a Legal

† *Reasons framed in the House of Commons, to prove the Queen's Majesty bound in Conscience to proceed with severity in this Case of the late Queen of Scots.* D'Ewes's Journ. 1572. p. 207. * *An Act for Provision to be made for the Surety of the Queen's Majesty's most Royal Person, and the Continuance of the Realm in Peace.* Stat. xxvii. Eliz. Cap. 1. See the *Petition of Lords and Commons to the Queen, for the due and deserved Punishment*

Method to try and prove the Charge against Her : And yet such was the Tenderneſs of *Engliſh* Honour, that the executing of that Lawful Sentence could hardly be extorted from the Queen, by the Neceſſity of thoſe times, and the Importunity of Her Great Council ; the *Papiſts* who object it, are really to answer for it. And yet *They*, and others with Them, would again make the World believe, that our late Revolution was but a ſort of Returning to this Day ; and they are ſtill inſinuating their odious Compariſons, and are branding Men with hard Names for Juſtifying the Providence of God, the Wiſdom of a Nation, and the Honour of a Prince, in our late Glorious Deliverance. A Mercy, which ſome of theſe very Men have the Conſcience to ſubmit to, and the Comfort to enjoy ; and yet they caſt it in our Teeth as a Reproach unto us. What do theſe unfair Suggeſtions mean ? If they really mean, that the ſame Principles of aſſerting and reſtoring a Legal Conſtitution of Church and State, might as well juſtify the Death of one Prince, as the Abdication of another : It is a wrong Argument of their own making ; we know, there was a vaſt Diſparity, If they inſinuate, as they do, that the ſame Hardſhip in effect, was violently done to both Princes, they miſrepreſent the Caſes excremely much : there is no ſort of Parallel betwixt the Striking off a Head, and the not Hurting a Hair of it. Such Men, who induſtriouſly draw Compariſons of this unequal Nature, are great Enemies to the due Obſervation of this Day ; [*Iſa.* 58. 4.] *they Faſt*, I doubt, for *Strife and Debate* ; and perhaps their Heat and Noiſe may help to drive ſome into contrary extreams, into [*Ver.* 3.] *finding Pleaſure in this Day of Faſt*, or at leaſt recommending the Abrogation of it. Whatever Fault it is to be *Moderate*, I hope all, who ſuffer under that Name, do heartily believe that the Crime of this Day was beyond all Example of Antient or Modern Times, and are ready to confeſs and declare in the Voice of the Nation aſſembled in Parliament, *We do Renounce, Abominate, and Proteſt againſt that Impious Faſt, the execrable Murder, and moſt unparallel'd Treason committed againſt the Sacred Perſon and Life of our Sovereign ; and as a laſting Monument of our inexpressible Detestation and Abhorrency of this Villainous and Abominable Faſt, we meet on this Anniverſary Day of Faſting and Humiliation, to implore the Mercy of God, that neither the Guilt of that Sacred and Innocent Blood, nor thoſe other Sins by which God was provoked to deliver up both Us an our King, into the Hands of Cruel and Unreaſonable Men, may at any time hereafter be viſited upon Us or our Poſterity.*

I return therefore to the Text, and draw theſe Three Seasonable Inferences from it.

- * *Fiſt*, There is a deep and dreadful Guilt in the Sin of Murder, and a
- * Proportion of that Guilt in the being any way Acceſſary to it. This made
- * *Joſeph's* Brethren to have that ſad Reflection and Remorſe upon 'em,
- * *ſaying one to another, We are verily Guilty concerning our Brother.*

niſhment of Death to be executed on Mary Queen of Scots, for her moſt execrable Treasons and Offences. D'Ewe's Journ. 1586. p. 380.

* Secondly, A Confession and Repentance of that Guilt must help to Atonement for it. There was some Ingenuity and Justice in this Acknowledgment made by Joseph's Brethren, *We are verily Guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw the Anguish of his Soul, when he besought Us, and we would not hear.*

* Thirdly, Calamities and Troubles are the Vengeance of God, which he usually inflicts upon Blood thirsty Men. This Terror lay upon the Spirits of these unnatural Brethren; say they, *We are verily Guilty concerning our Brother therefore this Distress is come upon Us.*

I. First, There is a deep and dreadful Guilt in the Sin of Murder, &c.

I need not observe, That Murder is the taking away another's Life, without competent Authority and sufficient Cause. I need not prove, that by our Laws and Fundamental Constitution, our Sovereign Prince can never be try'd in Person for any wrong, † much less condemn'd and put to Death for any Cause, or by any Authority whatever. And therefore, that the assuming and exercising such a Power, is but the more formal, and more insulting Sin of Murder. It was declarative of our Original Constitution, that our Legislature, upon occasion of this Day, would have it express'd, *That by the undoubted and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor Both together in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People collectively or representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, or ought to have any coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.*

Murder, where it is simple, and of the meanest of our Fellow Creatures, is the most unnatural and most inhumane Offence. God set a mark of Indignation on the first Committer of it: *Cain* indeed did not pay Blood for Blood, because a single Life then taken away had gone near to extinguish the Race of Mankind; but his Punishment, if possible, was greater: he was expell'd from the Remnant of Humane Society; a *Fugitive and Vagabond*, with Death pursuing him in every Face he saw, *It shall come to pass* (saith he) *that every one who findeth me, shall slay me.* When Mankind increased, the Sin was made Capital, even to the Sons of *Noah*, long before the Jewish Dispensation: [*Gen. 9. 6*] *Who so sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed.* This was confirm'd [*Exod. 20. 13.*] by the written Law of *Moses*; and it is remarkable, that under all the Atonements and Expiations then allow'd for Sin, there was no Sacrifice, nor other Rite, to expiate for Murder. Nay, and under the many Advantages of Refuge and Sanctuary for Offenders, there was no *City*, no *Place*, for the wilful Murderer to flee unto *. To shed Innocent Blood was what the Law of

of Death to be executed on Mary Queen of Scots, for her most execrable Treasons and Offences. D'Ewe's Journ. 1586. p. 380.

† This is the true Foundation of that common Axiom, The King can do no wrong, because there is no Right or Remedy against his Royal Person.

* Nor in any parts of Christendom, till the Popes came to dispense their Holy Protections, and to make their Altars a Refuge to the vilest Criminals, if they were not poor.

Nature,

Nature, and Reason of Mankind did ever abominate and restrain : No Nation so Barbarous, but what (if other Goods were common) allow'd every Man a Property in his own Life, not to be invaded without a Legal Forfeiture of it.

Among our *Saxon* Ancestors, there were indeed Pecuniary Compositions for ‡ shedding of Blood, a Customary *Weregild* or *Blodewite*, a Mult and Forfeiture of Goods or Money, in Proportion to the Quality or Value of the dead Person. But the true cause of accepting such a sleight Compensation for a Life was grounded on the mean State of Villains and Bondmen, whose Blood was not thought to deserve the Blood of the Lord, or the Free Tenant. * And when the *Blodewite* did afterward extend to making Fine for the Death of Freemen, and even of *Thanes* or Nobles, yet then it was for the casual Misfortune and the Manslaughter, not for the deliberate Malice of plotting to take away a Life †.

By our present Constitution, the Life of every Subject is a publick Trust, and the Party himself cannot dispose of it : 'Tis Felony for any sensible Man to steal away his own Body from the Common Wealth. So tender are our Laws in Cases of Blood, that for a private Person of the greatest Dignity to kill (except in Self Defence) the vilest Beggar, the most notorious Malefactor, the very condemn'd Criminal, is Murder in the Eye of the Law. And lest a prime Agent should satisfy for his other Accomplices in this Sin, there is no Mitigation in being only *Accessary* ; they all become *Principals* in it, if present Aiding or Abetting to it. And for fear, lest Relations might connive and sell their Relations Blood ; therefore the Prosecution lies in the Name of the Common Parent, that Justice may avail for those who have neither Friend nor Brother. And yet again, lest by some defect in the first Process, the Guilty should happen to be acquitted ; there lies a Remedy of Appeal, by Wife or Heir Male, to secure the Execution of Justice on the notorious Offender, not to be obstructed by a Pardon, pending the Appeal. Such a Sateguar to the Lives of Men are the *Laws of England*, above any other Constitution in the World. And when the meanest Subject is so defended and preserved, what greater Regard must needs be had to the Life of the Supreme Magistrate ? The first *Act* upon our *Rolls* declarative of Treasonable Offences, [*Stat. Ed. 25. 3. Cap. 11.*] makes it undoubted *Treason to compass or imagine the Death of our Lord the King* ; whence I presume that the very Thought and Imagination of so doing, would be liable to all the Penalties of Treason, if those Intentions of the Heart could be proved without an Overt Act of them ; for the *Overt Act* does rather

‡ Derived from the old Germans, *Luitur etiam Homicidium certo Armentorum, and Pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem tota domus. Tacitus de Mor. German.* * *Vid. Joh. O Stiernhook de Jure Sueonum & Gothorum, Lib. 11. Cap. 4. De Jure Daminorum & Servorum.* † *Qui volens hominem occiderit morte mulctator. Leg. Alvredi Regis, edit. a Lambardo, §. 16. Cædes manifestæ scelera sunt Jure humane inexpiabilia, Canuti Leges. Num. 61. c. 6. p. 121.*

manifest than make the Offence *. In other Felonies and Treasons, the Compassing or Imagining 'em, is no Legal Offence without some open Acts, that tend to the Commission of them: So nicely tender are our Laws of the Sovereign Prince's Life, above all other Considerations in this World.

To return. How did the Guilt of Murder lie heavy on the Conscience of Joseph's Brethren, not the evident Guilt, but the very Suspicion of it: The fear of having been Accessary to his Death, by leaving him in a helpless condition. For by their way of accusing, and condemning themselves, 'tis plain they meant, that to put their Brother alive into a Pit, was little less than killing and casting his dead Body into it. Had they bound him and laid him on an Altar, it had been much at one, tho' the *Ishmaelites* had stretched forth the Hand and the Knife to slay him.

II. Our Second Inference from the Text is this, ' A Confession and Repentance of Blood guiltiness, must help to make Atonement for it. ' There was some Ingenuity and Justice in this Acknowledgment made by Joseph's Brethren, *We are verily Guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw the Anguish of his Soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear.*

There be few Sins than can keep silence, the full Secret betrays it self, and the Wickedness is some way or other condemn'd out of its own Mouth. But of all Provocations, none so clamorous, so importuning, so demanding Satisfaction, as this of Murder. It is in Scripture represented to have a Voice as it were of Thunder, rending the Skies, and opening the Bowels of the Earth: Said God to Bloody Cain, *The Voice of thy Brother's Blood crieth to me from the Ground; and the Earth hath opened her Mouth to receive thy Brother's Blood from thy Hand.* This cry of Murder is often conceiv'd and utter'd from the Heart and Conscience of those who commit it. The Lamentation of Cain, *My burden is greater than I can bear*, was the Echo of intolerable inward Grief and Anguish; that, like a Vapour inflamed in the Earth, must first murmur, and then break forth. *Lamech* fell into a like Self Arraignment, (*Gen. 4. 23.*) *I have slain a Man to my wounding, and a Young Man to my Hurt: If Cain shall be avenged seven-fold, truly Lamech seventy and seven-fold.* Holy David could never forget the case of *Uriah*, (*Psal. 51. 14.*) *Deliver me from Blood guiltiness, O God, thou that art the God of my Salvation.* The Conversion of St. Paul began with this Sense of his former cruelty; (*Acts 22. 20.*) *When the blood of the Martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting to his Death.* And no wonder at such a feeling in a Christian Heart, when the same Apostle found the very Barbarians expressing this Natural Notion of the Guilt and Punishment of Murder. When the *Viper* fastened on the Apostle's Hand, (*Acts 28. 4.*) the Barbarians said among themselves, *No doubt this Man is a Mur-*

* In the Ricide's Case, it was agreed, the Indictment against them should not be for killing the King, but for compassing and imagining his Death; and the killing to be alledged as an Overt Act. For the Statute makes the Treason to consist in the Intention, not in the Act. L. Ch. 7. H. in *Cranburn's Trial*. 1696, p. 6, 7.

derer, whom, tho' he hath escaped the Sea, yet Vengeance suffereth not to live. If a true Relation could be obtain'd of all the strange and unaccountable Discoveries of Murder, not only by unexpected Evidence and Circumstances unforeseen, but by the betraying Looks and faltering Tongue, and other undesigned Intimations of the Criminals themselves; it would make a most amazing History of the wise and just Providence of God.

Alas! the Murder transacted on his Day was no such Mystery of Iniquity, as to want the Finger of God for the Indication of it. It was in the Face of the Sun, a Spectacle to the world, and a defiance to Heaven: Yet when a Legal Inquisition came at last to be made for this Royal Blood, and the Actors in it were now hiding their guilty Heads; then it came to pass, that the discovery and apprehension of several of them was a Wonder, and if we consider the Warning given, the Escapes made, the other way open to Impunity, we must observe that the bringing so many of them to a condign Punishment, was little less than a Miracle of Divine Justice, and their own Infatuation. It is a sad truth, that they were so perfected in their sin, as to make no confession of it, as to die hard, and even to value themselves upon that eternal Infamy. For it is possible, that Men may be given up to a reprobate Mind, and it is a frequent Judgment of God to give Men up unto it. We see daily, that the newly enter'd Sinners are more easily inclin'd to Penitence; but when they have fulfilled their Course, they are sealed up in Obstinacy and Perverseness. Who knows, but that God gave the Grace of Repentance to *Joseph's* Brethren in the Text, because they had trodden only on the Borders of Murder, without stepping into the Precipice of it? Had they actually proceeded to take away his Life, with some notable Aggravations of the horrid Parricide; then perhaps the Devil, that *Murderer from the beginning*, would have so possessed them, that no Confession should have been extorted from them. But being innocent of such a great Offence, and becoming only the remoter Instruments of consequential Mischief; this did not extinguish the Sparks of Humanity and Natural Affection; they could afford to say, *We are verily guilty concerning our Brother*. The Height and Depth of Sin, is to be at last insensible of it. If in future Ages our Religion and our Humane Nature could possibly degenerate into the repetition of such a Crime; I am apt to believe, that the principal Actors in it would again die without Repentance: God would not be more gracious to them.

III. But let us go on to the *Third and Last Particular*, 'Calamities and Troubles are the Vengeance of God, which he usually inflicts upon Blood-thirsty Men. This Terror lay upon the Spirits of these unnatural Brethren; say they, *We are verily guilty concerning our Brother; therefore this Distress is come upon us*.

There is a visible Providence of God, in his punishing grievous Sinners in this Life; and tho' the Judgment perhaps is not *speedily executed*, yet a slow and sure Vengeance does commonly overtake the guilty Soul in this World, as a Warning to *fly from the Wrath to come*. But Murder, more than any other Evil, hunts the wicked Person, or even the sinful Nation. For when any Murder is committed, or connived at, as a confederate Act of the Community, then is the Guilt National, and a National Judgment must attend it.

Thus

Thus God visited all *Israel* for the Rashness of *Saul*, (2 Sam. 21. 1.) in putting the *Gibeonites* to death ; He sent a fore Famine ; nor could the Famine cease, till an Atonement was made for that Slaughter. So when *Gedaliah* (made Governour of *Judea* by the (Jerem. 41. 1.) King of *Babylon*, was slain by the Sword in a tumultuous rising of *Ishmael*, and ten other Confederates with him ; because this look'd like a National Revenge or Fury, it had a National Fast and Humiliation appointed for it ; and was call'd by another Prophet, *The Fast of the Seventh Month*, (Zach. 7. 5.) The Jews had always this right Notion, That the shedding of Blood without Publick Justice on the Shedders of it, would be required of the Kingdom or People. Hence, in the Case of *uncertain Murder*, lest the Guilt might lie upon the Government, * the Elders of the nearest City were to put away that Guilt, (Deut. 21. 7, 8.) by washing their Hands, and saying, *Our Hands have not shed this Blood, neither have our Eyes seen it : Be merciful, O Lord, unto thy People Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent Blood unto thy People of Israels charge.* Even *Pilate's* Hypocrisy was founded on this Opinion, when he wash'd his Hand, and cried, *I am innocent of the Blood of this just Person*, (Mat. 27. 24.) And the Jews had the same thought upon them, when they dared God with this horrid Imprecation, *His Blood be on us, and our Children.* Nay, our Saviour had argued with them upon this Principle, when he severely told them, *That upon them should come all the righteous Blood shed upon the Earth, from the Blood of righteous Abel*, (Mat. 23. 35.) unto the Blood of *Zacharias Son of Barachias*, whom they slew between the Temple and the Altar.

This was the Apprehension that lay rooted in the Hearts of *Jacob's* Sons, when they found themselves in a strange Countrey, suspected, seized, examin'd, put into Prison : Then they immediately look'd backward, and saw their Sin pursuing them ; they felt the Sentence, and confess'd the Merit of it ; *We are verily guilty concerning our Brother ; therefore is this Distress come upon us.* And the First-born of them, as fittest to advise the rest, did reason with them, and upbraid them. *Reuben* answered them, saying, *Spake I not unto you ; saying, Do not sin against the Child, and ye would not hear ? therefore behold also his Blood is required.*

To apply this to the Day would require an infinite Labour and Sorrow ; for it would put us on a Review of all the Miseries that followeth this Abomination of Wickedness. Such a Scene of Distraction and Confusion, that it would be a new suffering to run it over, unless it were to admire and adore the Goodness of God in our Deliverance ; That our legal Monarchy, destroy'd and drown'd in Blood, should rise up in Peace, and flourish to this day ! That a Parliamentary Constitution broken in pieces, and patch'd up into several deformed Shapes, should re-assume its ancient Glory, and promise now to stand on its true Foundations for ever ! That our National

* Hence Inquisitions for Blood, and Penalties on the Town or Hundred where the Blood was shed, if the Murderers were not produced. Vid. Leg. Edwardi Conf. 16. de inventione Mordri, Leg. Gul. 2. 26. de Centuriæ mulctâ, Leg. Hen. 1. cap. 21. de solutione Mordri. v. 25.

Church persecuted, forsaken, and extinct to all appearance, should revive and excel in Strength and Beauty ! That the Laws of England should be brought back from the Point of the Sword to the Courts of Justice, and flow continually in their wonted Bounds and Channels ! That our Nobility and Gentry insulted by the Rabble, and enslaved by armed Men, should be re-instated in hereditary Wealth and Honour ! That all the People oppressed and vex'd with Sequestration, Plunder, free Quarter, Contribution, Loan, and all manner of arbitrary Demands and Impositions, should once more be Freemen, and enjoy their own with Comfort and Security ! I say, That the Iniquity of those Times should dissolve the whole Fabrick of our Church and State, and put the Foundations out of Course, and turn our World upside down ! and yet, that God of his infinite Mercy should, as it were, create for us a new Heaven and a new Earth ! A Restoration of Peace and Truth, and all that was dear unto us ! This is a surprising Light that ariseth out of darkness ! This is a Happiness, that in the midst of Mourning, calleth for our Joy and Thanksgiving.

We ought now therefore to reflect upon those past Miseries, to confess the Guilt indeed, and to deprecate the Judgments of it : And after this, to praise God that we are escap'd from those Miseries, and to use our utmost Caution, that we never again fall into the Snare of them. Let us therefore briefly review some of the fatal Consequences of this Day, to repent of them, and by God's Mercy to avoid the like for ever.

First, The Sin of this Day was a Reproach to our Nation, as triumphantly committed in the Name of the People of it. The People of England was the borrowed Name and Stile of Authority in this accursed Cause ; though a Lady then present, could not but upbraid the High Court for using the Name of the People of England, when there was not a Tenth Part of the People consenting to them. (a) The truth is, it was a shameful Abuse of Words, to call the Juncto of a vile Party the Body of the People ; thereby to defend themselves with Noise and Number, and involve our Nation in the Guilt and Scandal of a few desperate Men. It was better express'd by the two Houses of Parliament ; *By this horrid Action, the People of England have received the most unsupportable Shame and Infamy, whilst the fanatic Rage of a few Miscreants stands imputed by our Adversaries to the whole Nation.* No ! the People of England could never have so cast off the Bands of Religion, Loyalty, and Humanity, (b) as to

(a) The Act for this Anniversary does well observe, *They did first seduce some part of the then Army into a compliance, — did seize upon the King's Person — did seize upon the House of Commons, seclude and imprison some Members, force out others ; and there being left but a small Remnant of their own Creatures (not a tenth part of the whole) did seek to shelter themselves by this weak pretence, under the Name and Authority of a Parliament.*

(b) *And after all this, when a Man might reasonably believe that less than an universal Defection of Three Nations could not have reduced a great King to so ugly a Fate, it is most certain, that in that very Hour*
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imbrue their Hands in their Sovereign's Blood. The People of England are not cruel and implacable, are not so much as severe, are the best natur'd People in the World. (c) Ambition and Rebellion among the Angels of God, were not the Disposition of the whole Order, but of some Apostates only. The History of our late Revolution will be an everlasting Memorial of English Lenity and merciful Temper. No Retaliation of Injuries paid unto our Popish Enemies absolutely subdued unto us: Armed Multitudes not killing, nor, I think, maiming one single Person; and in our Courts of Judicature, hardly one Example made of Legal Justice. But however, the ascribing this Day's Scandal to the People of England, (tho' they generally protested against it (d) should make us the more cautious in not prostituting *that Name* to any little discontented Parties of Men: There is seldom the most Weight where there is the greatest Noise: The Head, and all the Members united in Parliament, are the most uniform Body of the English People; and they indeed make a proper Voice of the Nation.

Secondly, There was a Reproach done to our Reform'd Religion; and so your Honourable Predecessors own'd, that *by this horrid Action, the Protestant Religion hath received the greatest Wound and Reproach that was possible for the Enemies of God and the King to bring upon it; when in*

when he was thus publicly murdered in the sight of the Sun, he had as great a share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the People in general of the Three Nations, as any of his Predecessors had ever been. *Ld. Claren. Hist. Book 11. p. 199.*

(c) *Good Nature, a Virtue so peculiar to you, so appropriated by God Almighty to this Nation, that it can be translated into no other Language, hardly practised by any other People.* Lord Chancellor's Speech to the two Houses, 13 Sept. 1660.

(d) See *A serious and faithful Representation of the Judgments of the Ministers of the Gospel, within the Province of London, in a Letter to the General and Council of War, Jan. 18. 1648. deliver'd by some of the Subscribers; wherein they disclaim, detest, and abhor, the wicked and bloody Tenents and Practices of Jesuites (the worst of Papists) concerning the opposing of lawful Magistrates by private Persons, and murdering of Kings by any, though under the most colourable and specious Pretences*—*Another Declaration of the Ministers of London and others; Professing before God, Angels and Men, That they do verily believe, that the taking away the Life of the King in the present way of Trial, is contrary to the Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant Religion, and the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom, &c.*—The Commissioners of Scotland, during the King's Trial, entered their Protestation, how much they did abominate and detest so horrid a Design against His Majesty's Person, &c. And soon after, a Proclamation of the Privy Council of Scotland declared, That the late King was, contrary to the Dissent and Protestation of that Kingdom, removed by a violent Death.

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truth the few Agents in it were as far from being true Protestants, as they were from being true Subjects. We thought indeed, That the Church of Rome had ingrossed all the Arts of destroying Crowned Heads; and as our Saviour said, That a Prophet could not perish out of Jerusalem: So we presum'd, that a Sovereign Prince could not perish out of their Communion. Nor could it well have been, without imbibing their Principles under new Pretensions; their Dispensing with Laws, their Absolving from Oaths, (e) their entering into Holy Leagues and Covenants, their Impious Heretical and Damnable Doctrine, that Princes excommunicated or deprived, by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their own Subjects. Most certainly, the Hand of the Papists was in all that Rebellion, not only in their King killing Doctrines, but in their Practices, (f) and in their very Persons; (g) kindling the War, and preventing Peace, and Triumphant

(e) In the Articles of Impeachment in Parliament, against Father Phillips, in June 1641. Art. 3. the damnable Doctrine which he, and the other Jesuits have taught to destroy and depose Kings, hath been to Cause of the Civil Wars like to befall these Kingdoms, if God in his Mercy do not prevent it. Rushworth Hister. Coll. Part. 3. Vol. 1, p. 301.

(f) The Rev. Dr. Peter Du Moulin, repeated this publick Challenge to the Papists—This certain Intelligence shall be justified whensoever Authority will require it. But the year before the King's Death, a select Number of English Jesuits were sent from their whole Party in England, first to Paris, to consult with the Faculty of Sorbon, then altogether Jesuited, to whom they put this Question in writing, That seeing the State of England, was in a likely Posture to change Government, whether it was Lawful for the Catholicks to work that Change, for the advancing and securing of the Catholick Cause in England, by making the King away, whom there was no hope to reclaim from his Herefie? This was answered Affirmatively. After which the same Persons went to Rome, where the same Question being propounded and debated, it was concluded by the Pope and his Council, That it was both lawful and expedient for the Catholicks to promote that Alteration of State.—When the horrible Parricide committed in the King's Sacred Person was universally cry'd down, as the greatest Villainy which had been done in many Ages, the Pope commanded all the Papers about that Question to be gathered and burn: In Obedience to which Order a Gentleman in Paris was demanded a Copy which he had of those Papers. But the Gentleman who had had time to consider and detest the Wickedness of that Project, refused to give it, and shewed it to Protestant Friend of his, and related to him the whole Carriage of that Negotiation, with great Abhorrency of the Practice of the Jesuits. Vindicated Prot. Relig. in the Point of Obedience to Sovereigns, and a Reply to the Answer made to it, by Pet. Du Moulin, D. D.

(g) The King in his Declaration publish'd after his late Victory, Octob. 23. 1642. speaks thus—All Men know the great Number of Papists which serve in their Army; Commanders and others, the good Industry they have used to corrupt the Loyalty of all our Subjects of that Religion: The pri-

over

over the Sacrifice made on this Day. (b) Let us abhor and detest the sanctifying of Treason, under the Names of Church and Religion; Let us for Conscience sake, be Faithful and Obedient to Her Majesty; Let us shun all the Approaches to Murmur and Sedition: (i) It is our Duty, and our Felicity to be Content and Cheerful under a Lawful Government, and a Wise and Just Administration of it.

Thirdly, Christianity it self has suffer'd under the Load of this Days Guilt and Scandal. We have reason to believe, that Religion, before the Civil Wars, kept up its own Sacred Nature, and carried the good old Veneration with it; the very Name of Conscience raised a serious Look, and mov'd the Tongue to Modesty and Fear. But the Troubles, Tumults, and Distractions of that Time, changed the Face of Religion; and fill'd the Heads of Men with Political Notions, and the Noise of them. Especially, when the Abomination of this Day was committed, as the Result of Fasting, and as an Answer to the seeking God in Prayer; this naturally put Religion

uate Promises and Undertakings they have made to them, that if they would assist them against us, all the Laws made in their Prejudice should be repeal'd. Yet neither the Weakness of our own Condition, nor the other Arts used against us, could prevail with us, to invite those of that Religion to come to our Succour, or to recal our Proclamation, which forbade them to do so. And we are confident (though we know of some few whose eminent Ability in Command and Conduct, and moderate, and unfaction Dispositions have us, in this great necessity, to employ them in this Service) that a far greater Number of that Religion is in the Army of the Rebels than in our Own.

(h) *When the late King was murdered, Mr. Henry Spotteswood riding casually that way, just as his Head was cut off, espied the Queen's Confessor there on Horseback, in the Habit of a Trooper, drawing forth his Sword, and flourishing it over his own Head in triumph (as others then did.) At which Mr. Spotteswood being much amazed, and being familiarly acquainted with the Confessor, roade up to him, and said, O Father, I little thought to have found you here, or any of your Profession at such a sad Spectacle: to which he answered, That there were at least Forty or more Priests and Jesuits there present on Horseback, besides himself. Prynne's Brief Necess. Vindicat. p. 45. Foulis's Histor. of Presbyter. p. 14. Du Moulin Vindicat. of Prot. Relig. and Reply, &c. who tells this Circumstance, that the Priest who flourish'd his Sword said, Now our greatest Enemy is dead.*

See the Popish Plots and Designs against the King, his Prime Ministers, and the Church of England, discover'd by Andreas ab Habernfield in Rome's Master Piece, or the Grand Conspiracy of the Pope, and his Jesuited Instruments, to extirpate the Protestant Religion, re-establish'd Popery, subvert Laws, Liberties, Peace, Parliaments, by kindling a Civil War in Scotland, &c. Revealed out of Conscience to Andreas ab Habernfield, who discovered it to Sir Will. Boswell; first publish'd by Mr. Prynne, Reprinted by Mr. Wharthon, with the Archbishop's Notes.

(i) *Let none be so hardy as to tell or publish any false News or Tals*

out of Countenance, and tempted Men to be Profane for fear of being Hypocrites. Not that it could shake the Faith of true Christians; For they know, that the best Religion may sink into the vilest Corruptions; and out of the Refuse of Christianity, there may arise the greatest Reprobates, the *Atheist*, and the *Entusiast*, exceeding their Predecessors of the Heathen World. We should now the more labour to restore our Christian Faith to its Antient Foundations of Simplicity and Godly Sincerity; no longer making it *Religion*, to be of any Party, without and Honest Holy Life, and all the Fruits of Piety, Charity, and Brotherly Love. On the *One* hand, nothing can excuse a Separation from us but pure *Conscience*; it is on the Supposition of *Conscience* sincerely mistaken, that our Laws allow Indulgence; those therefore who claim the *Liberty*, ought to be the more careful of their only title to it, and should keep a *Conscience* truly tender, in all other Points of Christian Practice, and especially in those Duties of common Christianity, and moral Honesty, which can admit of no scruple. On the *other* hand, to be of our establish'd Communion, does certainly afford us the better Means of Grace, by the purer Ordinances of Religion: (k) But we must edifie the more under these Advantages, or we shall be left the more inexcusable. What! was not our Establish'd Church built upon the Christian Religion? And shall Men presume to call themselves of our Church, who are not of our Religion?

Fourthly, The Principles of Government and Obedience, suffer'd extremely in the fatal Causes and Consequences of this Day. Before the Convulsions of those Times, the Authority of Princes, and the Subjection of People, stood upon their right Bottom, a Power of governing, and a Duty of obeying and submitting, according to our Legal Constitution; this was the *Will of God*, and the *Ordinance of Man*. It was the breaking down this Fence, that laid open the Scene of Rebellion and Anarchy. It must be confess'd, that the Principles of Arbitrary Power, and a single Will and Pleasure above the Laws of the Land, were never Preach'd up till at the beginning of those (l) unhappy Times, when the Preachers were justly censur'd by the Parliament; but being from other parts countenanc'd and

whereby Discord, or occasion of Discord, or Slander may grow between the King and his People, or the great Men of the Realm; and he that doth so, shall be taken and kept in Prison, until he hath brought him into the Court, which was first Author of the Tale. Stat. 3. Edit. 1. cap. 34.

(k) The King (Ch. I.) was always the most punctual Observer of all decency in his Devotion, and the strictest Promoter of the Ceremonies of the Church, as believing in his Soul the Church of England to be instituted, the nearest to the Practice of the Apostles; and the best for the Propagation, and Advancement of Christian Religion, of any Church in the World. Ld. Clarend. Hist. B. 1. p. 63.

(l) Sibthorp, Manwaring, &c. The Archbishop of Canterbury refusing to License Dr. Sibthorp's Sermon, gives this Account of Dr. Harinet Bishop of Chichester, That in Parliament time, he Preach'd a Sermon at Whitehall, (which was afterwards burned) upon the Text, Give unto Cæsar, the promo-

promoted ; this did but make Men as loose one way, as they thought themselves to be straitned on the other : the tying of a Knot too hard is the frequent Cause of breaking the Band asunder. They are the greatest Enemies to Sovereign Power, who stretch it beyond the extent of Legal Constitution. But to atone for the great *Ribellion* of this Day, let our Principles return to the sure Foundations, the Holy Scriptures, and the Laws of the Land, which are the Measures of our Obedience ; and by them we are abundantly obliged to bear true Allegiance to our Sovereign Lady the QUEEN, the *Minister of God to us for Good*, to whom we must needs be subject for Conscience sake, and submit our selves for the Lord's sake : For so is the Will of God, that with well doing, ye may put to silence the Ignorance of Foolish Men. And how doth our Duty arise up into its own Reward of Pleasure, Peace and Joy ; when we have the best Supreme Governour, the happiest Administration, and the most unanimous Great Council, that our Hearts can desire ? The good God continue our Comforts at home, and enlarge our Victories abroad, and make us devoutly thankful for them.

And now I am not Ignorant, that the Anniversaries of Christian Martyrs were observed with a just and joyful Celebration of their Praises ; and that the same Tribute is now due to the Memory of our Royal Martyr. But should I attempt to enumerate his Virtues, and recommend his Example, the time would fail. I might better refer you to his excellent Character drawn by a Noble Hand, of which I recite only a concluding part ;
 * To conclude, * He was the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master, the best Friend, the best Husband, the best Father, and the best Christian, * that the Age in which he lived produced.

The more intolerable were those Libellous Pamphlets, that artfully distinguish'd between Him and his Ministry, and seditiously represented the Church and Religion to be in great Danger, when he protected them, and adorn'd them, with a singular Integrity and Zeal. How insolent were the Press and very Pulpit, in blowing a Trumpet for the Field ! Bitter Libels and Invectives drew the Sword, and Slanders against the Government, were the Commissions to Fight and Destroy it. The God of Peace and Truth, mercifully guide Us in the way of Truth, to the Things that belong unto our Peace, through the Merits of Christ Jesus our Lord and only Saviour, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost be ascribed, all Honour, Power, and Glory, now and ever. Amen.

thing that be Cæsar's ; wherein he insisted, that Goods and Money were Cæsar's, and therefore they were not to be denied unto him. At this time, when the whole Parliament took main Offence thereat, King James was constrained to call the Lords and Commons into the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and there his Majesty calmed all by saying the Bishop only failed in this, when he said the Goods were Cæsar's, he did not add, they were his according to the Laws and Custom of the Country wherein they did live. Archbishop Abbot's Narrative, &c.

* *Ld. Clarend. Hist. Book 11. p. 199.*

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